

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BERLIN 01119 01 OF 03 032118Z

62

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

----- 002554

R 031701Z JUL 74

FM USMISSION BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3608

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BERLIN 1119

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (EXDIS VICE LIMDIS PER SVC FM ORIGIN)

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB, GE, UR

SUBJECT: HILLENBRAND-YEFREMOV CONVERSATION, JULY 1

1. SUMMARY: ESTABLISHMENT OF FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY IN WEST BERLIN WAS PRINCIPAL TOPIC OF DISCUSSION DURING LUNCHEON GIVEN BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV FOR AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND IN EAST BERLIN ON JULY 1. YEFREMOV, WHO RAISED SUBJECT, STRESSED THAT SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS FEA HAD NOT CHANGED: FEA WOULD REPRESENT EXTENSION OF FRG GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY OVER WEST BERLIN AND WOULD AS SUCH AMOUNT TO DIRECT BREACH OF QA. FURTHER EXPANSION OF FRG ACTIVITIES IN WEST BERLIN WAS, MOREOVER, TO BE ANTICIPATED. YEFREMOV, HOWEVER, CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM THREATENING RETALIATION FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF FEA. HE SAID ONLY THAT FEA WAS "BITTER PILL" WHICH SOVIETS WANTED TO SPIT OUT. IN RESPONSE, AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND SAID THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE FOR SOVIET UNION TO SWALLOW THE "PILL" OF THE FEA, WHICH WOULD NOT IN ITSELF MAKE MUCH DIFFERENCE AND WHOSE ESTABLISHMENT IN WEST BERLIN WAS NOW, GIVEN POLITICAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BERLIN 01119 01 OF 03 032118Z

PRESSURES IN THE FRG, FOREGONE CONCLUSION. INSTEAD, THE

SOVIET UNION SHOULD RELY ON THE CONSULTATION MECHANISM BETWEEN THREE ALLIES AND FRG. THIS MECHANISM, THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED, WOULD ENSURE THAT POLITICAL FACTORS--AND NOT SIMPLY LEGAL ONES--WOULD BE TAKEN FULLY INTO ACCOUNT, SO THAT DIFFERENCES OVER FEDERAL PRESENCE IN FUTURE WOULD BE MINIMIZED. THE FRG HAD AGREED TO ACCEPT THE DECISION OF THE THREE ALLIES RELATING TO FEDERAL PRESENCE. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV WAS PREDICTABLY EFFUSIVE ON GENERAL SUBJECT OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV SAID THAT HE FRANKLY HAD NO SPECIAL QUESTIONS TO RAISE. HE CONTINUED TO CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, THAT HE AND AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND MEET PERIODICALLY. ON THE SUBJECT OF GENERAL US-SOVIET RELATIONS, YEFREMOV SAID THAT HE WISHED TO SPEAK IN HIS GOVERNMENT'S NAME AS WELL AS HIS OWN. HE HAD MET RECENTLY WITH SECRETARY GENERAL BREZHNEV WHO, IN COURSE OF LONG DISCUSSIONS ON THE SUBJECT HAD TERMED US RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION VERY POSITIVE AND HAD EXPRESSED DESIRE THAT THESE RELATIONS BE EXPANDED AND STRENGTHENED. THE FACT WAS THAT US AND USSR, AS TWO GREATEST POWERS, HAD MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE TO ATMOSPHERE IN WHOLE WORLD. DISAGREEMENTS AND CONFLICT SITUATIONS, WHICH DID EXIST BUT NOT IN ANY GREAT NUMBER, SHOULD BE RESOLVED IN A CALM AND PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE. IN SUM, AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV STATED THAT, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION WERE GOOD; THERE WERE MORE THINGS THAT UNITED US THAN DIVIDED US. THESE RELATIONS HAD ALREADY CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO REDUCTION OF TENSIONS IN THE WORLD. SOVIETS, HE STRESSED, LAID GREAT STORE ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO MOSCOW FOR FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS.

3. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV COMMENTED SIMILARLY ON THE SATISFACTORY STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET EMBASSY AND THE US MISSION IN BERLIN. HE WAS PLEASED TO NOTE THAT ANY LOCAL DIFFERENCES THAT AROSE WERE ABLE TO BE RESOLVED AT THE COUNSELOR OR PROTOCOL OFFICER LEVEL. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT CONTACTS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BERLIN 01119 01 OF 03 032118Z

BETWEEN EMBASSY AND MISSION PERSONNEL, ON BUSINESSLIKE AS WELL AS SOCIAL BASIS, COULD BE FURTHER DEVELOPED AND INTENSIFIED.

4. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV SAID THAT BOTH THE EMBASSY AND THE MISSION HAD TO DEAL WITH QUESTIONS FROM A "THIRD SIDE", THAT IS, FROM WEST BERLIN. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED, HE HAD NOT CHANGED HIS

KLEIN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BERLIN 01119 02 OF 03 031804Z

47

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SAJ-01 NSC-07 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 DODE-00 PM-03 L-02 PRS-01

ACDA-10 IO-03 NIC-01 SP-02 DRC-01 /067 W
----- 129842

R 031701Z JUL 74

FM USMISSION BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3609

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BERLIN 1119

LIMDIS

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE FEA, WHICH HE TERMED UNLAWFUL, DANGEROUS, AND FAR REACHING IN ITS IMPLICATIONS. US DID NOT NEED THIS AGENCY, AND NEITHER DID BRITISH OR FRENCH. ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN WEST BERLIN WOULD RESULT IN DIRECT INTERVENTION OF FRG IN GOVERNMENT OF WEST BERLIN, AND WOULD AS SUCH CONSTITUTE DIRECT BREACH OF QA. RULING CIRCLES IN THE FRG, HE STRESSED, HAD TAKEN ON GREAT RESPONSIBILITY. THE SOVIETS WERE NOW WATCHING VERY CLOSELY, AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV SAID, FOR THE APPEARANCE OF SIMILAR FEDERAL OFFICES IN WEST BERLIN. FRG LEADERS, HE WAS SURE, WOULD SEEK TO LOCATE NEW AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN WEST BERLIN. WHILE HE RESPECTED THESE LEADERS, HE COULD NOT LET THEM WHITTLE DOWN THE QA. QA REPRESENTED A BALANCE BETWEEN THE FOUR POWERS, AND IT SHOULD REMAIN AS SUCH, FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED IN LETTER AND SPIRIT. IF THIS QUESTION OF THE FEA WERE SET ASIDE, YEFREMOV NOTED, THEN REMAINING PROBLEMS WOULD BE VERY MINOR ONES, NOT WORTHY OF MUCH ATTENTION.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BERLIN 01119 02 OF 03 031804Z

5. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND SAID HE WISHED TO COMMENT ON THE POINTS THAT AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV HAD RAISED. IN THE FIRST PLACE, HE AGREED THAT CONTRACTS BETWEEN THE SOVIET EMBASSY AND THE US MISSION IN BERLIN SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AND INCREASED. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND NOTED THAT THE SUBJECT OF THE FEA HAD BEEN VERY MUCH ON EVERYONE'S MIND, AND HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE PAST EVEN BY THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER AND US SECRETARY OF STATE. THE US WAS WELL AWARE THAT THE SOVIET UNION ATTACHED CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THIS QUESTION. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT GO INTO THE COMPLICATED HISTORY OF THE FEA, WHICH WAS AS WELL KNOWN TO THE SOVIETS AS TO OURSELVES. HOWEVER, ONE HAD TO START WITH THE FACT THAT THERE ARE IN THE QA CERTAIN SECTIONS--IN PARTICULAR THAT CONCERNING FEDERAL ACTIVITIES--WHERE THE LANGUAGE OF THE AGREEMENT IS NOT ALWAYS CRYSTAL CLEAR. EACH PARTICIPANT HAS INTERPRETED THIS LANGUAGE SO AS TO CONFORM TO HIS OWN THESIS. WE FOR OUR PART HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT TIES BETWEEN THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN ARE NOT ONLY TO BE MAINTAINED BUT ALSO DEVELOPED. THIS WHOLE QUESTION OF THE FEA, AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND CONTINUED, HAD BEEN DISCUSSED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE FOUR POWERS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. ON HIS LAST VISIT TO MOSCOW, SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD MADE SEVERAL IMPORTANT POINTS, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING PROCEDURES THAT WOULD BE FOLLOWED IN THE FUTURE. THESE PROCEDURES ESSENTIALLY INVOLVED THE AGREEMENT OF THE FOUR POWERS--THE FRG, THE US, BRITAIN, AND FRANCE--TO CONSULT WITH EACH OTHER PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY NEW FEDERAL OFFICES IN WEST BERLIN. THE FRG HAS IN EFFECT AGREED THAT, IF THE THREE ALLIES CONCLUDE THAT A PARTICULAR PROPOSAL WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE QA OR POLITICALLY UNWISE, THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE DROPPED FROM CONSIDERATION. WE HAVE CHOSEN THIS APPROACH, HE EXPLAINED, SINCE IT MOVES AWAY FROM THE INSOLUBLE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETING THE QA AND LEAVES THE FINAL DECISION TO THE THREE POWERS TO MAKE IN TERMS OF THEIR POLITICAL JUDGMENT; IT IS OUR EXPECTATION THAT QUESTIONS REGARDING FEDERAL PRESENCE CAN THEREBY BE RESOLVED IN A WAY POLITICALLY SATISFACTORY TO ALL.

6. WHEN AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV POINTED OUT THAT THE THREE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BERLIN 01119 02 OF 03 031804Z

ALLIES HAD ACCEPTED THE FEA, AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND STRESSED THAT WE HAD ACCEPTED IT ON ITS LEGAL MERITS, AS BEING CONSISTENT WITH THE QA. IN OUR VIEW, IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR TO ACCEPT THE FEA AS SOMETHING THAT SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN THE BERLIN SITUATION, AND TO RELY ON THE ALLIED ASSURANCE THAT IN FUTURE POLITICAL FACTORS WILL BE GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE THREE POWERS SIMPLY CONTINUED TO GIVE THEIR ASSENT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FURTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES IN WEST BERLIN. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND RESPONDED THAT THE ALLIES HAD NOT SAID THEY WOULD AUTOMATICALLY AGREE TO ANY FURTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES IN THE CITY. RATHER, ANY SUCH PROPOSALS WOULD BE COMPLETELY DISCUSSED, TAKING POLITICAL FACTORS INTO ACCOUNT, AND THE FRG WOULD ABIDE BY THE FINAL DECISION. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND ADDED THAT IT WAS ONLY FAIR TO SAY THAT IN FUTURE GERMAN LEADERS WOULD BE VERY MUCH AWARE OF POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WHEN DEALING WITH SUBJECT OF FEDERAL PRESENCE; THEY WOULD NOT MOVE LIGHTLY, BUT RATHER WITH RESTRAINT. THE SOVIETS WOULD BE WELL ADVISED NOT TO MAKE TOO MUCH OF A FUSS OVER THE FEA. IF MEASURES WERE TAKEN TO COUNTERACT ITS ESTABLISHMENT, THIS WOULD RESULT IN NEEDLESS CONFRONTATION OUT OF PROPORTION OF THE
KLEIN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BERLIN 01119 03 OF 03 031810Z

47

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SAJ-01 NSC-07 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 DODE-00 PM-03 L-02 PRS-01

ACDA-10 IO-03 NIC-01 SP-02 DRC-01 /067 W

----- 129983

R 031701Z JUL 74

FM USMISSION BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3610

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 3 BERLIN 1119

LIMDIS

IMPORTANCE OF THE AGENCY.

7. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV SAID THAT HE COULD DO NO MORE THAN REPEAT THE POSITION HE HAD EXPRESSED EARLIER. FEA WAS A "BITTER PILL" IN HIS MOUTH, WHICH HE WISHED HE COULD SPIT OUT. HE HAD OFTEN BEEN ACCUSED, HE NOTED, OF READING ONLY ONE PART OF THE QA AND IGNORING SECTION ON DEVELOPMENT OF FRG-WEST BERLIN TIES. WHEN THE TIME CAME HE WOULD SAY MORE ON THIS LATTER SECTION. IN THE MEAN-TIME, HOWEVER, HE WOULD NOTE THAT HIS CONCEPT OF TIES WAS MORE IN THE NATURE OF CONTACTS OR CONNECTIONS--AS BETWEEN OFFICERS OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY AND THE US MISSION SUCH "TIES" SHOULD OF COURSE BE STRENGTHENED. BUT THERE WAS NO QUESTION HERE OF ONE PARTY GOVERNING THE OTHER; FRG, HE STRESSED, MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO GOVERN WEST BERLIN, AS IT WAS SEEKING TO DO IN CASE OF FEA. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV EXPRESSED HOPE THAT NOTHING LIKE FEA WOULD BE PROPOSED IN FUTURE; THIS, HE MAINTAINED, WOULD BE IN INTERESTS OF THREE ALLIES AS WELL AS SOVIET UNION. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BERLIN 01119 03 OF 03 031810Z

IF FEA WERE NOT PERMITTED TO BE ESTABLISHED IN WEST BERLIN--AND HE NOTED AGAIN THAT SOVIET UNION HAD NOT YET SWALLOWED "BITTER PILL"--THEN THERE WERE NO POINTS OF DIFFERENCE REGARDING WEST BERLIN OR QA. ASKING RHETORICALLY WHETHER WEST BERLIN WOULD EVER BELONG TO FRG, AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK THIS WOULD HAPPEN FOR 200 YEARS. US MIGHT LEAVE WEST BERLIN IN 50 YEARS OR SO; BUT UK AND FRANCE NEVER WOULD.

8. SUMMING UP, AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND RECOMMENDED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR SOVIET UNION TO SWALLOW THE "PILL" OF THE FEA. IF IT WAS IN FACT TRUE THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE NO OTHER PROBLEMS DARKENING HORIZON, THEN IT WOULD BE BEST TO REMOVE THIS ONE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. GIVEN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN FRG, WHERE POLITICAL PRESSURES HAVE BUILT UP TO A POINT WHERE NOT TO ESTABLISH FEA IN WEST BERLIN WOULD BE POLITICALLY INCONCEIVABLE, IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO DRAW A LINE UNDER THE PAST AND TRUST THAT IN FUTURE SENSE OF REALISM ON ALL SIDES WILL SUFFICE TO AVOID RECURRENCE OF SUCH PROBLEMS.

9. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND OUTLINED FOR AMBASSADOR

YEFREMOV'S INFORMATION CURRENT STEPS US WAS TAKING TOWARDS ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GDR. HE SAID THAT WE HAD APPROACHED GDR REPS IN NEW YORK WITH A PROPOSAL TO INITIATE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON JULY 15, AND IT WAS OUR EXPECTATION THESE TALKS WOULD BE RAPIDLY CONCLUDED AND ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN A SHORT TIME. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV REMARKED THAT IT HAD SEEMED STRANGE TO HIM THAT US REMAINED PRACTICALLY ONLY COUNTRY THAT DID NOT HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GDR. THERE WERE NO TERRITORIAL OR BOUNDARY DISPUTES TO STAND IN THE WAY; CLAIMS ISSUE WAS ONE THAT MANY COUNTRIES HAD TO FACE; AND US HAD NOT BEEN UNHELPFUL IN SECURING ENTRY OF GDR INTO UN. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND REPLIED THAT WE HAD ONLY RECENTLY BEEN OFFERED SUITABLE PROPERTIES FOR CHANCERY AND FOR HOUSING.

10. IN COURSE OF LUNCHEON CONVERSATION, AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV MENTIONED HIS INTEREST IN SPENDING HIS VACATION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BERLIN 01119 03 OF 03 031810Z

THIS YEAR TRAVELLING AROUND WEST GERMANY, WHICH HE HAD NEVER VISITED BEFORE, HE WONDERED WHETHER AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND COULD MAKE SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO PLACES HE SHOULD VISIT. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND SAID THAT HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO BE OF ASSISTANCE. WHEN AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV MENTIONED THAT HE WAS EXPECTING STATE SECRETARY GAUS TO PAY HIS INITIAL CALL ON HIM IN NEAR FUTURE, AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND SUGGESTED THAT THIS WOULD BE FIT OCCASION TO RAISE MATTER OF HIS TRAVEL PLANS.KLEIN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PFOR, WB
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 JUL 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974BERLIN01119
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BERLIN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740775/aaaacmit.tel
Line Count: 364
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19-Jul-2001 by kellerpr>; APPROVED <20 FEB 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HILLENBRAND-YEFREMOV CONVERSATION, JULY 1
TAGS: PGOV, GE, UR
To: SECSTATE WASHDC BONN LONDON MOSCOW PARIS NATO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005